DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 192 935 RC 011 047

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TITLE The Social Organizatien of Participation Structures in Two Classrooms of Indian Students.
INSTITUTION Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa (Ontario).
PUB DATE [77]
NOTE 46p.

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *American Indian Education; American Indian Reservations; American Indians; *Canada Natives; Classroom Communication; *Classroom Techniques; Cultural Awareness; Cultural Background; Cultural Differences; Participation; Primary Education; Research Methodology; *Student Teacher Relationship; Teacher Background; *Teacher Effectiveness; *Teaching Methods; Teaching Styles
IDENTIFIERS *Odawa (Tribe); Ontario

ABSTRACT

Participation structures in two classrooms of culturally similar children (Indian) taught by teachers with different cultural backgrounds (both experienced, one Indian, one non-Indian) were investigated in an Odawa reserve community in Northern Ontario, Canada. Data came from direct observation, videotaping in classrooms and in some children's homes, and interviews and collaborative research with school staff. "Work in progress" results indicate cultural difference in exercise of authority by the Indian and non-Indian teachers with the Indian teacher's participation structures showing more cultural congruence with interaction patterns customary for Indian children. At the level of Odawa daily life, there is virtual absence of central political authority. Specifically, comparing setting up a lesson (teacher movement, directives, relationship between movement and giving directives), the non-Indian teacher moved more rapidly, moved around the whole room, gave directions to the total classroom group and small reading group at the same time, and called out directions to individual children across the room, while the Indian teacher proceeded slowly, exerted control over the whole class at once, singled out individuals only in small groups. In leaving-the-room comparisons, the Indian teacher exercised control more through movement, more indirectly, and less frequently than the non-Indian teacher. (RS)

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THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF PARTICIPATION STRUCTURES IN TWO CLASSROOMS OF INDIAN STUDENTS

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RC 011047

The work reported here was supported by the Ontario Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, whose assistance is gratefully acknowledged.

To preserve confidentiality we cannot thank by name the local tribal officials, the principal of the school, and the teachers who cooperated with us, but their support is deeply appreciated.

The following helped in the work, and we thank them: Alex Fox, Anne Medicine, Linda Belarde, Joseph Logan, Zina Steinberg, Matthew King and Donna Fox.

Introduction

> When people experience what is called "culture shock" on going from one society to another, it is probably not the obvious differences which cause the greatest sense of personal disorganization. In other words, it is probably not the differences in physical landscape, climate, religion, dress, or even food which brings about the strongest sense of confusion. More often, it is in the assumptions underlying everyday life, shared by members of a society by virtue of constant interaction from birth, assumptions which are so much a part of the culture that they are not even consciously held. (Watson, 1974: 29)

It is only within the last 25 years that anthropologists have begun systematic study of specific aspects of everyday social life that are culturally patterned in ways that are outside the conscious awareness of the people who act out the patterns. This patterning has been called "invisible culture", "implicit" rather than "explicit", a "silent language". Such research, initially inspired by the theory and methods of descriptive linguistics, has evolved rapidly, both criticizing and accomodating to theoretical shifts in linguistics and developing a theoretical stance of its own (see Watson 1974 for an excellent brief review of these issues, and also Hall 1959, Goodenough 1971, Frake 1964, Wallace 1970, Goffman 1967, Blom and Gumperz 1972, Sacks 1974, Gumperz 1976, Erickson 1975, 1976, Bauman & Scherzer 1975).

Until just recently there has been little application of these perspectives to the study of teaching in classrooms. Some of the basic issues in such work were articulated by Hymes in an introduction to a collection of studies of social functions of language use in classrooms that was edited by Cazden, Hymes, and John (1972). More recent work in the field is reviewed in Erickson, 1977. Other current workers include Mehan, et al (1976), McDermott (1976), Schultz (1976), Bremme (1976 -- see also Bremme and Erickson 1977) and Florio (1977).

This paper reports data on implicit culture in the classroom. The data come from a study presently under way on an Indian reserve in Northern Ontario, Canada. It is a community of 2000 persons with two schools, a lower primary and an upper primary school. They are operated by the Ontario Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. All the students in the schools are Indian (with the exception of a few children of non-Indian teachers). In the lower primary school some of the teachers are non-Indian. Others are Indian, as is the principal, and the Indian staff are all members of the local reserve community.

It is an Odawa reserve. The Odawa are an Algonkian people whose traditional culture was similar to that of the Ojibwa. Both the Odawa and the Ojibwa have lived in the region at least as long ago as the time of their first contact with French Jesuit missionaries, who met them in the mid-seventeenth Century (Kinietz, 1972). Some general features of traditional Odawa and Algonkian social structure and social etiquette will

be discussed briefly later in the paper.

In our study we are collecting evidence of the patterned ways in which everyday life is conducted in two first grade classrooms in the lower primary school, and in community life outside the school. One of the classrooms is taught by an experienced Indian teacher. The other next door is taught by an experienced non-Indian teacher. We are interested in the similarities and differences in the cultural organization of social relationships in these two classrooms of culturally similar children who are taught by teachers whose cultural backgrounds differ. We are interested especially in how the teachers exercise authority and how the exercise of authority by the teacher shapes interactional (or communicational) etiquette in the classrooms -- the sets of standards that the teacher and students have for appropriate, expectable, and routinely interpretable ways of acting toward one another. We are also interested in how interactional etiquette in everyday life outside the classrooms differs from or is similar to interactional etiquette inside the classrooms.

Our evidence comes from three sources: limited direct observation, videotaping in the two classrooms and in some of the children's homes, and interviews and collaborative research with school staff (Indian members of the school staff became involved in studying communicational etiquette in everyday life outside school through a summer course that involved field observation and reflection on their own experience as teachers and as members of the reserve community. Projects and final papers

from the course have become a valuable source of insights and data for those teachers and for us). So far analysis of evidence is still in early stages and evidence is still being collected. What is reported here is truly "work in progress".

The paper begins with a section on theoretical rationale. This is followed by a section reporting classroom interaction data, and a concluding section in which the implications of the data are discussed.

Most of the evidence to be presented here comes from analysis of video tapes of classroom interaction. Over one school year both first grade teachers were videotaped in the early fall, in the late fall, in the winter, and in the late spring. One teacher was videotaped for 11 hours on 9 different days. The other was taped for 13 hours on 10 different days. The videotaping was done continuously, with a minimum of camera editing by the camera operator ("zooming" in, out, and "panning" around the room). This was to provide as undistorted a record as possible of the natural flow of interaction. For sixteen of the tapes sound was recorded by a microphone suspended from the ceiling, and for 6 of the tapes a Vega wireless lavaliere microphone was worn by the teacher and by a few students in the two classrooms.

I. Research Focus and Rationale

In the initial stages of analysis we have paid attention to particular aspects of classroom interaction. There are theoretical reasons for this, and so this section of the paper

identifies our research focus and places it in the context of related theory and research.

Some of the aspects of teacher and student behavior that seem to be culturally patterned include the following:

(a) the overall tempo of teaching -- how fast the teacher and the students interact, how quickly classroom "scenes" change from one activity to the next.

(b) the overall directiveness of teaching -- how much and what kinds of "control" the teacher can appropriately exercise over student behavior in the classroom, how much "leeway" or "elbow room" is provided for students.

(b - 1) the teacher's pedagogical use of public scrutiny or "singling out", calling attention to the individual children's behavior in front of an audience of other children, the "teacher searchlight" phenomenon -- to what extent the teacher, by questioning, commanding, praising, smiling, looking pointedly and other means of directing attention to a specific child, focuses on what that child is doing in the presence of an "audience" of other children. At issue here is not the positive or negative emotional content of the teacher's attention to an individual child (i.e. the function of such attention as "positive" or "negative" reinforcement) but to the public, "audienced" nature of such attention.

Differences among teachers along such dimensions as overall tempo and directiveness and differences among students in doing work on one's own are usually thought to be caused by individual differences among teachers and among students in personality factors such as temperament, intelligence, and motivation (and also in the case of students, developmental level).

It seems reasonable to assume that individual differences do influence the social behavior of teachers and students in classroom learning environments. But recent research suggests that group differences as well as individual differences influence social behavior in classrooms and in learning environments such as families in the wider community outside school. We assume that these group differences are cultural in origin; that they are conventionally shared definitions and expectations of what is appropriate in the conduct of everyday social interaction -- definitions that are partially learned at an early age and held and acted on outside conscious awareness by both children and adults.

Since cultural variables have not often been investigated systematically and in detail in educational research it is appropriate to present here a working definition of culture. Goodenough (1971) has recently defined culture in cognitive, ideational terms as "a system of standards for perceiving, believing, evaluating, and acting". This definition is distinctive in that it encompasses both patterns for one's own social action and patterns for interpreting the meaning of the social actions of others; i.e. it asserts that what one has to know in order to act appropriately as a member of a given group includes not only knowing what to do one's self, but how to anticipate and judge the actions of others (c.f. Goodenough 1971: 41ff. For additional expositions of this position see Wallace, 1970: 1-45, and the introductory essay in Spradley, 1972).

This definition of culture has great relevance for the study of the cultural organization of social relationships in learning environments such as classrooms and homes. Operating from such an orientation, the anthropologist Philips (1972, 1975) has investigated life in classrooms and homes on the Warm Springs Indian reservation in central Oregon. Philips has identified a number of features of cultural incongruity or cultural conflict between non-Indian adults on the one hand and Warm Springs Indian adults and children on the other. Differences exist in the expectations the two groups have for how social interaction should take place. Through careful firsthand observation, Philips identified models for the organization of persons' reciprocal rights and obligations in social interaction -- models of the most common participation structures at home and at school (Philips, 1972). These models of interactional etiquette account for what all parties to an interactional occasion are doing, e.g. not only for how the teacher or parent talks to children but how children listen as the adult talks, how people get a turn to speak, or allocate turns at speaking to others, how people hold the floor once they have a turn at speaking, how people ask questions in appropriate ways and provide relevant answers in appropriate ways. In Indian community life and in everyday life in the school Philips found different kinds of participation structures that were customarily appropriate and expected.

Philips found a number of aspects of participation structures in the Indian home that were so different from those used in the classroom that the two kinds of participation structures

(or models of interactional etiquette) were incongruent. There seemed to be systematic discrepancies between two different cultural systems for organizing everyday interaction. This lack of congruence seemed to produce culture conflict and uncomfortableness in face to face interaction between Indian children and non-Indian teachers.

A major difference between the participation structures most commonly found in the Indian home and those most commonly found in the school classroom involved the role of the adult (or other leader, such as an older brother or sister) in the interaction. At school the leader (the teacher) attempted to control all activity, communicative and otherwise. In terms of the social organization of children's appropriate talk in school, the teacher functioned as a "switchboard operator", to whom much talk was addressed, and by whom all allocation of legitimate turns at speaking was granted. In such a participation structure, the Indian students performed much more situationally inappropriate behavior inside the classroom (silence, failure to answer questions, nervous giggling) than did white students in the classroom. The school was a public rural school attended by non-Indian and Indian children and staffed almost entirely by non-Indians. (Such schools are comparable to Provincial Board of Education schools in Canada.) The teacher's way of organizing interaction in the classroom seemed culturally congruent with the white student's expectations for how things should happen, but culturally incongruent with the expectations of Indian students.

Evidence for attributing the Indian children's confusion and inappropriate behavior to cultural incongruity rather than to personality characteristics of the individual Indian children came from Philips' observation of the Indian children's everyday life outside school. In everyday Indian life on the reservation, Philips noted that participation structures did not occur in which one person overtly controls or attempts to control a great deal of the activity of other people in the interacting group. It was not that such participation occured less frequently on the Indian reservation than in the non-Indian farming communities around it, but that such participation structures simply did not occur in everyday life on the reservation. From this Philips concludes "The notion of a single individual being structurally set apart from all others, in anything other than an observer role, and yet still a part of the group organization, is one that Indian children probably encounter for the first time in school" (Philips, 1972:391).

If the findings and interpretations reported by Philips and others generalize beyond the Warm Springs community in Oregon to other North American Indian communities and the schools they attend, we will observe over and over that everyday life in classrooms and school life in general is organized according to non-Indian cultural rules. If schools mirror a culture in the staff's daily interactions with students as much as they do in the content of the formal curriculum, the findings of Philips and others have profound implications for understanding the Indian child's experience of culture shock in school. Philips'

interpretations would explain the often reported phenomenon of the "silent Indian child" in the classroom -- the child reacting to the cultural inappropriateness of non-Indian teachers' questioning and directing strategies by "dropping out" from interaction with the teacher (c.f. Dumont, 1972). It would provide at least a partial explanation for the generally low school achievement and high drop-out rates among Indian school students in Canada and the United States.

In a teaching style more culturally congruent with the everyday experience of Indian children outside school one would expect, if the line of interpretation taken by Philips and other anthropologists is correct, that the teacher would not exercise authority in the typical non-Indian manner that produces constant overt control over talk and other classroom activity of children. We would expect more covert ways of exercising social control: less attention directed to individual children in the presence of other children as an "audience", less overt monitoring of the classroom behavior of individual children through verbal and non-verbal sanctions by the teacher, e.g. such verbal "reminders" as "Jimmy, open your book", "Martha, pay attention", "Henry, get in line", and non-verbal controlling moves such as gently taking a child by the shoulders and turning him/her in the direction the teacher wants him/her to move, or opening a book for a seated child and placing the child's hands on it in "Reading Position". We would expect to see Indian teachers doing less of this than non-Indian teachers. We would expect to see non-Indian teachers gradually doing more partial and less

overt exercise of social control if they were adapting intuitively to the culturally "Indian" participation structure expected by Indian children in their classrooms.

These are features of "Indian" teaching style that are theoretically predictable from Philips' analysis of participation structures at home and at school on the Warm Springs reservation of Oregon. We have found these features of teaching style in two first grades in an Odawa reserve school in Northern Ontario -- both in the characteristic teaching style of an experienced Indian teacher with Indian students, and in the direction of adaptive changes in characteristic teaching style made by a non-Indian teacher who was teaching Indian students for the first time.

A Study of Two Classrooms

In attempting to determine if Philips' findings could be generalized to another reservation setting in a different geographic region and different Indian culture area, we worked in a Northern Ontario reserve and videotaped two teachers. One was an experienced Indian first grade teacher who was a member of the local reserve community and who had taught in a one-room school for 14 years and in a self-contained primary classroom for about 7 years. The other first grade teacher was non-Indian and was an experienced teacher who had just come to the school and was teaching Indian children for the first time.

In planning this work we took care to find two competent teachers to observe and compare. According to their colleagues

both teachers were experienced and skilled. They were effective as judged by outcome measures. This point cannot be overemphasized: by comparing the teachers we do not mean to do so invidiously or even "evaluatively", in the usual sense that term is used in educational practice. Readers of this paper should keep in mind that the differences between the teachers that we report and interpret are not differences in their good intent or technical ability as professionals. The differences consist in the relative "cultural congruence" of the two teaching styles with the children's experience of social life outside school.

II. Data Analysis: Major Findings

When one first looks at and listens to the tapes of the two classrooms they seem different intuitively. Through systematic analysis of the tapes, it is possible to discover what some of the specific differences in interaction style are -- what the teachers and children are doing differently in each room.[1] Some of these differences are global. Some of them are apparent in the relative amounts of time spent by the teachers and children in main classroom activities, such as beginning the school day, recitation, small group instruction, individual seatwork and instruction, leaving the room to go to recess. More subtle are such things as the overall pacing in each of these classroom scenes and in the sequencing between scenes. In this section

[1] We also watched tapes in "viewing sessions" with the teachers to get their characterizations of and opinions about what was going on in their classrooms. That interview data will ultimately be integrated with the observational data derived from videotape analysis, but for this paper only observational data will be reported.

Figure 1. Relative Amounts of Time Spent in Major Classroom Social Situations

Activity	Classroom I			Classroom II		
	Minutes	%	Number of Instances	Minutes	%	Number of Instances
1. Entering and settling	43.7	7.3	(7)	28.7	5.9	(7)
2. Prayer	1.7	.2	(2)	0	0	(0)
3. Finding the day's date	1.3	.2	(2)	0	0	(0)
4. Tchr at blackboard, class reading aloud	10.4	1.7	(2)	8.9	1.9	(2)
5. Tchr passing out paper	5.3	.8	(2)	1.2	.3	(2)
6. Tchr circulating, giving indiv. attention	225.	37.5	(11)	177.5	36.9	(6)
7. Tchr sitting, giving indivual attention	58.7	9.7	(4)	50.3	10.0	(1)
8. Small group work	66.6	10.1	(3)	15.8	3.3	(1)
9. Tchr waiting for class	36.2	6.0	(4)	0	0	(0)
10. Finishing work	15.1	2.5	(1)	15.5	3.2	(3)
11. Free time playing in class	0	0	(0)	26.3	5.5	(2)
12. Class leaving	18.7	3.1	(7)	39.1	8.1	(7)
13. Other	212.3	29.9		116.7	33.9	
TOTAL	600.0	100.0		480.0	100.0	
	(N of tapes - 10 hrs.)			(N of tapes - 8 hrs.)		

we will first report the most global data on the two classrooms and then proceed to somewhat more fine-grained data.

Overall Indicators of Teaching Style and Participation Structure

Eighteen one hour tapes of classroom interaction, ten for one classroom and eight for the other, were viewed repeatedly by the researchers. Synoptic charts of each whole tape were made, indicating the main activities to be found on each tape, and the amounts of time spent on these activities.[1]

When one summarizes the amounts of time spent in main activities in the two classrooms -- some similarities and differences between the two rooms are immediately apparent. (see Figure 1.) Classroom I is the one taught by the Indian teacher and Classroom II is the one taught by the non-Indian teacher.

There are many similarities between the two classroom activity profiles. Both teachers spend the largest amounts of time circulating among the students and giving individual attention (Activity 6), with relatively little time spent at the blackboard in teacher focused instruction (Activity 4). For this the percentages of time spent are almost the same.[2]

Some differences between the classrooms are also significant. Looking at the percentages for Activity 12, "class

[1] Time was initially judged by noting the revolution counter numbers on the videotapeplay back deck, and these data were then converted into real time equivalents.

[2] Percentages are more useful for comparing the two rooms than are the actual amounts of real time since they adjust for the differences in the amount of total time the rooms were taped -- ten hours for Classroom I and eight hours for Classroom II.

leaving", it is apparent that a considerably greater proportion of time is spent on this in Classroom II, taught by the non-Indian teacher, than in Classroom I, taught by the Indian teacher. Children are given free time (Activity 11) in Classroom II and not in Classroom I. In Classroom I the teacher spends time waiting for students to finish their work (Activity 10), and this does not occur in Classroom II. More small group work (Activity 8) occurs in Classroom I than in Classroom II. In Classroom II there are two instances of free time for play (Activity 11); in Classroom I there are none.

When these relatively small differences are considered in the light of Philips' model and in the context of other data we will present, the following interpretations of the significance of those differences seem justified.

In terms of Philips' model, the differences between the two classrooms for Activity 11, "free time", are especially significant. Free time as distinct from work time presupposes a discrete boundary between two loci of social control; activity "belonging" to the students, and activity "belonging" to the teacher. This is the case for Classroom II, taught by the non-Indian teacher, which can be characterized overall as a place where one thing at a time is supposed to be happening. It is the teacher's time, then the students' -- work time or free time, time for everybody to pay attention (or for an individual to pay attention immediately) or for nobody to pay attention. The teacher exercises social control overtly to make clear whose time it is now. When the time "belongs" to the teacher, the

teacher "monitors" the attention of the children: "John, pay attention", (looking at a particular child) "sit still".

In Classroom I, taught by the Indian teacher, the distinction between teacher's time and students' time, between two separate loci of social control, is not made so sharply nor monitored so overtly. Social control is distributed in Classroom I as a shared quantity -- leadership by teacher and by students interpenetrates rather than being divided into separate compartments. The teacher clearly has "control" of the students, but achieves this partly by paying much attention to the rhythms of student activity, and judging when the students are ready for things to change. This is our interpretation of the frequencies for Activity 9 (Teacher waiting) and Activity 1 (Entering and settling). The teacher in Classroom I is accommodating to the children's rates of beginning, doing and finishing work at the same time as they accommodate to her. Over the year the teacher in Classroom II also began to accommodate more to student time and share it, e.g. Activity 7 typically increased during the second part of the year. Interestingly though, while things start much more slowly in Classroom I (Entering and settling -- Activity 1), they end more quickly than in Classroom II during the process of getting organized to leave and leaving the room (Activity 12). (We will return to this point after presenting the next table.)

Watching the tapes of Classroom 1, one has the impression of slowness and smoothness as classroom events unfold. The sense of pacing -- of doing the right things at the right time

-- has been noted by Smith and Geoffrey (1968) and by Kounin (1970). as a key feature of successful teaching performance. We will argue that a shared sense of pacing between teacher and students (part of their mutually congruent interactional competence -- their shared culture as it defined by Goodenough) is manifested behaviourally in an interactional smoothness whose presence or absence is empirically observable. This observable smoothness in getting through an event and in getting from one event to the next, can be taken as an indicator of shared expectations and interpretive strategies on the part of the participants in the interactional scene. (John Gumperz, Personal Communication, March 16, 1977). The overall impression of slowness and interactional smoothness in Classroom I is borne out when one considers more closely the durations of activities summarized in Figure I. This can be done by dividing the total time alloted for various activities by the number of instances each activity occurs, showing the average length of each episode for a given activity (See Figure 2).

In Figure 2 it is clear that things happen somewhat more slowly in Classroom I than in Classroom II. Entering the classroom at the beginning of the day (and coming back into the room after leaving it during the day) occurs at a slower rate (see Activity 1). Teacher I passes out paper twice as slowly as Teacher II. Students were given 15 minutes to finish work in Classroom I, and an average of 5 minutes in Classroom II. (see Activity 10).

Figure 2. Mean episode duration for selected classroom activities.

	CLASSROOM I			CLASSROOM II		
	Total Minutes	Number of Instances	Mean Duration (Minutes)	Mean Duration (Minutes)	Number of Instances	Total Minutes
1. Entering and settling	43.7	(7)	6.2	4.1	(7)	28.7
5. Tchr passing our paper	5.3	(2)	2.7	.6	(2)	1.2
6. Tchr circulating, giving individ. attention	225.0	(11)	20.5	28.8	(6)	177.5
7. Tchr sitting, giving individual attention	58.7	(4)	14.7	50.3	(1)	50.3
9. Tchr waiting for class	36.2	(4)	9.1	0	0	0
10. Students finishing work	15.1	(1)	15.1	5.2	(3)	15.5
12. Leaving	18.7	(7)	2.7	5.6	(7)	39.1

At first glance one might infer from these figures that Teacher I just moves more slowly due to age, temperament, etc., but consideration of further evidence shows clearly this is not the case. Despite the more gradual pace of starting up activities in Classroom I, it takes the children and the teacher much less time to get organized to leave the room in Classroom I than in Classroom II (an average of 2.7 minutes contrasted to 5.6 munutes). We will look at leaving behavior in greater detail later in the paper.

There are also differences in the timing by which the teachers give individual attention to students, either by circulating around the room (Activity 6) or by sitting at a desk with the student (Activity 7). The durations for giving attention are shorter for Teacher I than for Teacher II because, for Teacher I, giving attention to individual students is interspersed with other activities of formal instruction and classroom management, e.g. passing out paper and working in small groups with children. Teacher I handles issues of classroom logistics and works individually with students while she circulates around the room. She does this often in response to the silent request of a student, who will look up from seatwork to ask for help nonverbally from the teacher. Teacher II's pattern of giving individual attention is to give it in larger chunks to each student, to stay in one place longer while working with students individually, and then to move more rapidly around the room. During the latter he will do classroom social management and logistical work. He will then return to working with one student at a time.

In the next section we will consider differences in how the teachers operate in moving around the room. This is one area which did remain constant over the year.

A Closer Look At Classroom Processes

The characteristic slowness and smoothness by which social occasions are enacted in Classroom I and the relatively faster pace and irregular quality of interaction in Classroom II is not only apparent in the general tables for the overall timing of classroom activity, but in the ways both teachers have of starting up and concluding particular classroom activities. We examined a number of instances of the beginnings of activities, looking for indicators of overall smoothness and pacing. Two of these activities are described below: beginning a lesson, and leaving the room.

Setting up a Lesson: Teacher Movement

Our first example comes from an analysis of one instance for each teacher of getting a small group organized for a reading lesson, while the rest of the class begins seatwork. What we focused on in this analysis was the movement of the teacher around the room in the course of setting up the lesson. Diagrams 1 and 2 show the pathways of movements for the two teachers. Figure 3, which appears just after the second chart, presents the total number of times each teacher moved around the room ("passages"), the number of places or stations arrived at ("destinations"), and the mean duration of all passages and all destinations for the teacher.

DIAGRAM 1 : MOVEMENT PATTERN - SET-UP - TEACHER I

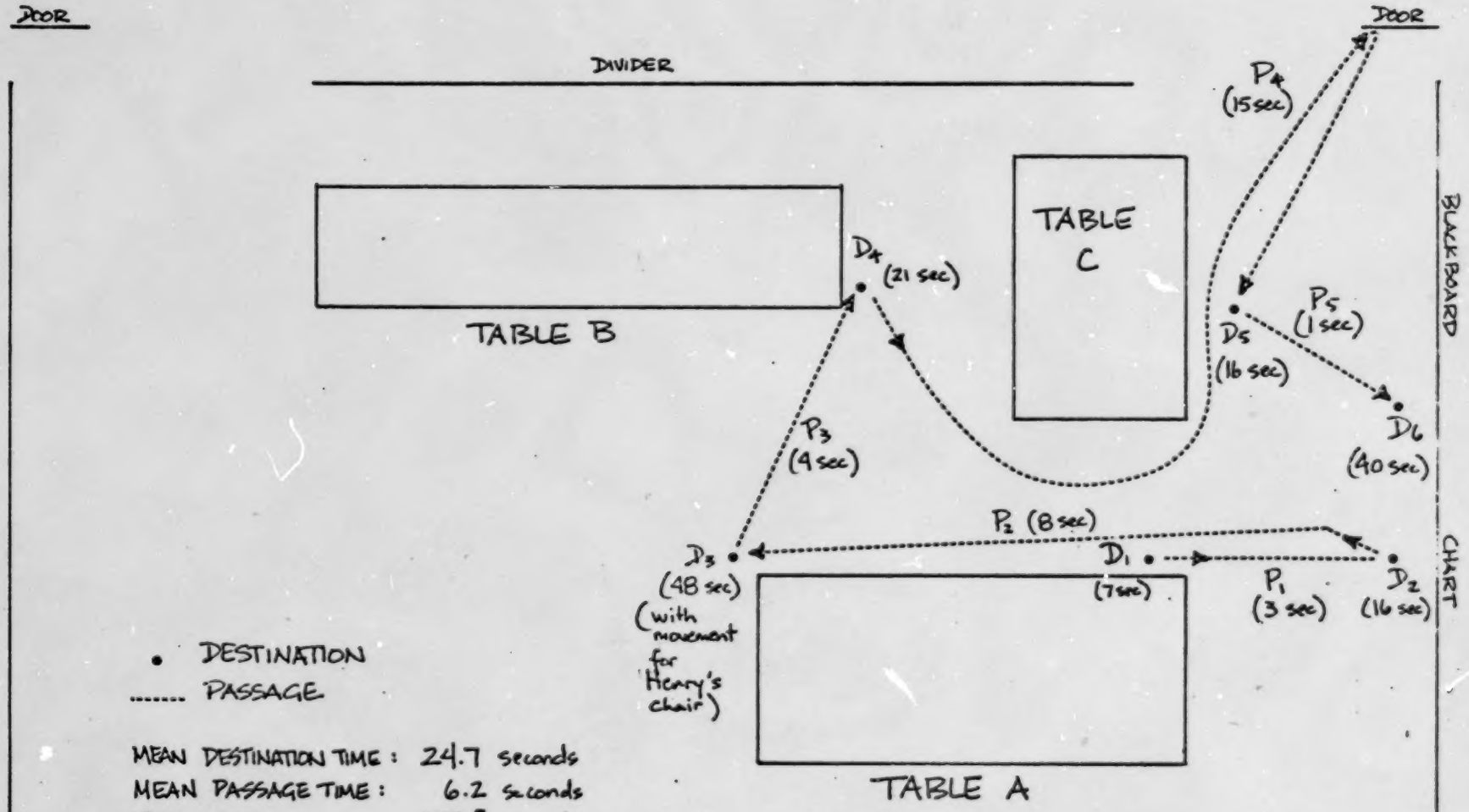
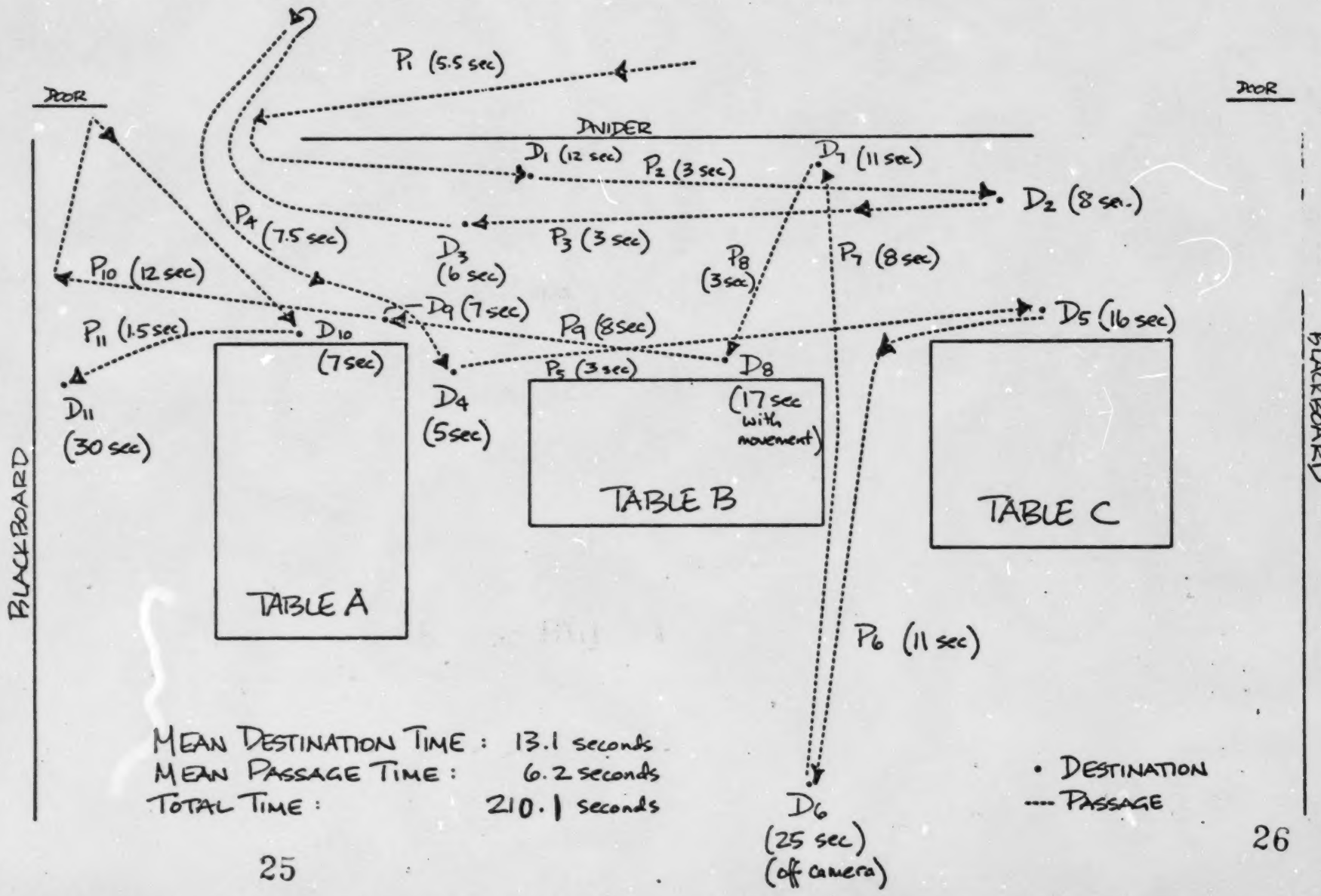


DIAGRAM 2: MOVEMENT PATTERN - SET-UP - TEACHER II



MEAN DESTINATION TIME : 13.1 seconds
MEAN PASSAGE TIME : 6.2 seconds
TOTAL TIME : 210.1 seconds

• DESTINATION
---- PASSAGE

Figure 3. Teacher Movement During Lesson Set-up

	CLASSROOM I	CLASSROOM II
Number of Passages	5.0	11.0
Mean Passage Duration (seconds)	6.2	6.0
Number of Destinations	6.0	1[illegible].0
Mean Destination Duration (seconds)	24.7	[illegible].1
Total Passage Time (seconds)	31.0	66.0
Total Destination Time (seconds)	148.2	144.1
Total Passage - Destination Time	179.2	210.1

What the floor diagrams and Figure 3 show is that although it actually takes Teacher I less time to get the lesson started than Teacher II, it appears as if Teacher I is teaching more slowly as well as more smoothly. This is because of the interaction of four factors: (a) Teacher I moves across a much smaller area of the classroom than Teacher II (See Diagrams 1 and 2); (b) Teacher I makes only half as many moves from table to table as does Teacher II (5 passages as compared to 11; see Figure 3), (c) the total time (31 seconds) spent by Teacher I in passage moves within a smaller area is less than half that spent by Teacher II (65.5 seconds) within a larger area, and (d) Teacher I has almost half as many destinations as Teacher II (6 to 11) and stays on the average almost twice as long at each destination (13.1 seconds to 24.7 seconds).

From watching the tapes one could characterize Teacher I's movement pattern as slow and smooth and that of Teacher II as more disjunct; a "stop and go" pattern. Recent work by Ruiz (1971) suggests that the ways teachers move around the room is one of the ways social control is exercised and an ongoing flow of classroom events is maintained (see also Erickson 1976, pp. 27-29).

Relationships between Teacher Movement and Giving Directives

The directive is a use of speech not so much to communicate referential content as to get another person to do what the speaker wants them to do. The term directive is used to refer to that social function of speaking by students of

classroom interaction whose work is informed by speech act theory in sociolinguistics and ordinary language philosophy (see Sinclair and Coulthard, 1974). While we have some serious concerns about the relevance of classical speech act theory to the study of speech behavior and nonverbal behavior in classroom interaction, the notion of the speech function directive is useful as an analytic category in studies of classroom discourse, and it is especially relevant to our current study, focused on issues of cultural differences in the exercise of authority by an Indian and a non-Indian teacher.

A teacher directive can be defined operationally as any utterance or nonverbal act by the teacher whose function is to get a student to change his/her behavior in compliance with the teacher's wishes. In speech, the directive function can be realized by a variety of linguistic forms: (1) the imperative declarative statement, such as "Sam, sit down." (2) a "wh-question", such as "Why don't you sit down?" (3) an indirect declarative sentence, such as "It's time for people to stop running around." or "Now we're going to get started." As one can see from the previous examples, directives can be issued to named individuals, putting the spotlight of public attention on them in front of an audience of other children, or directives can be accomplished in a more masked, indirect way that does not single individual children out for public scrutiny. Part of the "spotlight effect" of the issuing of directives by the teacher comes from using the name of an individual child which the directive is addressed. Another part of the spotlight effect can come from an aspect of what Hall (1966) terms a

proxemic relationship; interpersonal distance that carries social meaning. If the teacher calls out a directive to a single individual from all the way across the room, the spotlight effect is heightened, giving the directive the force of a command rather than a suggestion about what behavior is appropriate at the moment. Calling out across the room, no matter how indirect the linguistic structure of the utterance, usually carries the social meaning of an imperative and rebuke mixed together.

Thus the frequency of directives and their spatial placement as the teacher moves around the room, "casting" them like a fisherman, provides an index of the teacher's social control that shows not only how overtly the control is being exercised, but how large the span of control is -- whether the teacher is trying to control the behavior of all (or many) of the children at once, controlling the class as an aggregate, or whether the teacher is controlling individuals separately, i.e. teachers can differ in the frequency of overt exercise of control, and also in the generality or specificity of their targeted recipients of directive moves.

Accordingly we looked through the videotapes to see how teacher movement, proxemic relationship to students, and the issuance of directives were related in each classroom.

Considering the movement pattern of Teacher I (see Diagram I), we see that she begins to set up the reading lesson by giving directions to Table A while at D2. She then moves to D3 and asks Alice, Mark, and Henry, who are seated at D3 (table A), to

come to reading. Her next destination is D4 (Table B) where she asks Grace and others at the table to come with their readers. After directing the children to the reading table she closes the door and goes to D5 (in front of table C) where she stands with her hands on her hips, waiting for the children to assemble for reading (16 seconds). When they are ready she moves to the blackboard to begin the lesson with "Ok this list".

Teacher I's movement and directives are highly intercorrelated. She does not call across the room to named individuals. She generally is in face-to-face contact with the child or children she is addressing. She herself follows a clear path to the reading table.

Teacher II, on the other hand, moves in and out around the tables and creates a pattern that appears to be less symmetric. His movements and directives are not as highly intercorrelated. He calls across the room to named individuals. He begins by asking the children with the new readers to come to the table at which he is pointing. He has not established the same intimate contact with the children in the reading group either by using their names or by being in closer proximity to them, both of which Teacher I did. (Later in the year when he has established more intimate contact we see a greater economy in his organization. It becomes more sequential and students seem to have a better grasp of the contexts and his expectations for them.) From off camera he calls to Joe and Frank to get their reader and "come over here". But "here" is the reading table across the room from where he was standing. Later he again talks across the room to the class in general to be quiet then finally tries quieting Julia who is off camera.

Most of Teacher II's commands are quite direct and often repeated, and addressed to named individuals. For example, before he begins to work with the small reading group he talks to the class as a whole, talking over their voices: "Remember, no noise while I am talk. . . . reading here.", "Shhh", "Julia, work to do".

The economy of Teacher I's way of giving directions is illustrated by her three words and one gesture which indicate to the children in the reading group to begin the oral reading of the work list on the blackboard: "Ok, this list". For Teacher II the analogous situation is longer. He repeats "Look up here" two times and frames the task with a rationale. "In order to read the first story there are some new words you have to know. Here they are up here". He then repeats "Look up here" again and elaborates "these are the boys' names up here".

Both teachers have completed the set-up when they are standing at the blackboard going over a word list. Accomplishing the set-up has involved seven destination points for Teacher II and six for Teacher I.

Summary.

The strategies for accomplishing the very ordinary classroom management work, "getting a small group started", were quite different for both teachers. Teacher I's strategies involved proceeding fairly slowly and deliberately, exerting control over the whole class at once, not singling out individuals in the total classroom group, yet singling out and calling by

name those children in the more intimate, more "private" reading group. Teacher II moved more rapidly and moved around the whole room, gave directions to the total classroom group and the small reading group at the same time, keeping control of the public arena of the whole classroom scene, calling out directions to individual children across the room and over the other children's heads.

The previous analysis involves only one example of classroom management by each teacher -- two brief instances abstracted from our 10 hours of video tape.

These instances are rich in information but they may not be representative. To what extent are we justified in saying that two examples such as these are characteristic of the overall teaching style of the two teachers? This question is addressed in the following section.

Leaving the Room: Teacher Movement and Directives.

Starting up a classroom event is one of the points at which it is appropriate to study how a teacher accomplishes social control. Another appropriate point is that of the wind-up. In this one can observe the structure of how things get finished and how the teacher moves the class on to the next major classroom event. During a school day Leaving the Room is perhaps the most complete process of finishing things. In our tapes of the two teachers across the school year, there were a number of instances of the teacher organizing the class to leave the room -- to go to recess, to the washroom, to

lunch, to the library, to go home. This happens seven times in our tapes of Teacher I and seven times in our tapes of Teacher II. Most instances did not involve the children's putting on clothes for going outside.

In the general overview of amounts of time spent in different classroom activities (Figures 1 and 2) it was apparent that Leaving the Room took longer in Classroom II than in Classroom I -- twice longer, on the average. Those tables account for all fourteen instances of Leaving for both classrooms in our corpus of tapes. Nine of these instances were examined in greater detail; four instances in Classroom I and five instances in Classroom II. These nine were chosen on the basis of the quality of picture and sound on the videotape.

As it happens, these technically "best" tapes do not include the two slowest instances of Leaving in Classroom II and so the mean duration for this subsample of instances of Leaving the Room is almost the same for each classroom (see Figure 4). While Leaving still takes slightly longer in Classroom II the most striking differences between the rooms are apparent in how Leaving is socially organized and interactionally accomplished.

Figure 4. Duration of Leaving the Room and Pacing of Directives.

	CLASSROOM I (4 instances)	CLASSROOM II (5 instances)
Total Duration (in minutes) for All Instances of Leaving the Room	7.5	10.7
Mean Duration (in minutes) for Leaving the Room	1.9	2.2
Total Tchr Directives while Leaving the Room	37.0	126.0
Pacing of Directives (number per minute)	5.0	13.0

Figure 4 shows that although it takes both teachers about the same amount of time to get the class to leave the room, the pattern of interaction by which leaving is accomplished and authority is exercised (as indicated by the frequency and timing of the teachers' issuing of directives) is quite different in each classroom. Teacher II uses three times as many directives as Teacher I, and issues them at a rate more than twice as fast as Teacher I (13 per minute as contrasted to 5 per minute). The linguistic form of the directives and the way they are addressed -- to individuals on the one hand and to the total group on the other -- also shows marked variation between the two teachers' modes of social control (See Figure 5).

Figure 5. Form and Address of Directives while Leaving the Room

Linguistic Form of Directives	CLASSROOM I			CLASSROOM II		
	Directives to Individual Auditor	Directives to General Audience	Row Totals	Directives to Individual Auditor	Directives to General Audience	Row Totals
Question	1	3	(4)	3	0	(3)
Imperative	6	1	(7)	21	15	(36)
Non-imperative Statement	3	4	(7)	15	9	(24)
Column Totals	(10)	(8)		(39)	(24)	

From Figure 5 it is apparent that Teacher II uses directives more frequently than Teacher I. He also differs in his use of directives to a particular child: both in total frequency as compared with Teacher I (who used 10 directives to individual children, while Teacher II uses 39) and in the proportion of directives addressed to individuals and to the general class (10:8 for Teacher I, 39:24 for Teacher II). Thus in Classroom II individual children are singled out for attention in classroom management instructions far more frequently than in Classroom I. Moreover, Teacher II uses the direct linguistic form of issuing a command, the imperative form, (see Figure 5) proportionally more than the less direct linguistic form, the syntactic question. Teacher I also uses more imperative forms than question forms, but the difference is not nearly so great proportionally (For Teacher I, 7 imperatives to 4 questions; for Teacher II, 36 imperatives to 3 questions).

Finally, we can turn to the relationship between the teacher's location in the classroom and the giving of procedural instructions as the children are leaving the room. Teacher I goes to few destinations and makes fewer passages between destinations in leading the children out of the room. She also issues more directives at the first two destinations, but then he issues as many directives in the subsequent passages as in the destinations. Throughout the exit period teacher II gives directives. After the first two destinations, Teacher I issues almost no directives (see Figure 6). Relatively more time is spent by Teacher II at the last destinations and passages in the process of leaving than is spent by Teacher I. (see Figure 7).

Figure 6. Directives and the Location of the Teacher While Leaving the Room

	D_1	P_1	D_2	P_2	D_3	P_3	D_4
Teacher I	5	1	6	1	2	0	0
Teacher II	13	1	18	4	4	7	1

(D = Destination, P = Passage)

Figure 7. Timing of Destinations and Passages while Leaving the Room

	D_1	P_1	D_2	P_2	D_3	P_3
Teacher I	51	32	170	39	22	0
Teacher II	138	40	92	53	198	55

(Time in seconds)

Summary.

Since the instances for each teacher of leaving the room are distributed across the whole year it seems justifiable to

use these instances as an evidence base to support the generalization that Teacher II exercised social control through verbal means overtly and rapidly, whereas Teacher 1 exercised it more through movement, more indirectly and less frequently. Her words and movements marked definite points at which students knew they should move. Teacher II needed more words and movements to mark definite points.

III. Discussion: Participation Structures and Cultural Congruence

Both teachers are effective and experienced. In the kinds of classroom scenes we have reviewed, each teacher's strategies for getting organized "worked". The reading groups ended up doing reading and the other children ended up practicing reading through individual seatwork. But each teacher's strategies differ in the participation structures that were enacted. Moreover there are different presuppositions underlying the two different ways of playing out the same kind of scene -- cultural presuppositions of what is appropriate in ordinary social relations between adults and children. These different ways of accomplishing the scenes, and the presuppositions about interactional etiquette -- cultural definitions of social relationships that underly the social action -- seem to be related to local Odawa models of characteristic Indian participation structures, in contrast to non-Indian ones.

At issue, then, is not the general effectiveness or efficiency of either style of teaching, in terms of final results, but the cultural congruence of each style with the patterns of interaction customary for Indian children in everyday life.

This is not the place for an extensive discussion of everyday life on the reserve, and our evidence about everyday life outside school is currently far from adequate. However, our interviews with the Indian teacher we videotaped, our observations, and the reported observations and recollections of the Indian teachers we worked with in a summer course all point to a key feature of interactional etiquette in the life of children and adults in the community -- the avoidance of direct and overt social control in situations where such exercise of control over others would be regarded as entirely appropriate and "natural" by non-Indians.

Notions held by non-Indians of what is proper in the exercise of social control derive from Western European cultural assumptions about the nature of authority relationships. Notions of and sensitivity to the exercise of social control that are held and acted upon by people from the Odawa community where we have been working seem to be consonant with traditional Algonkian patterns of defining authority relationships -- patterns that seem to have survived more than three hundred years of contact with Western Europeans. These are patterns that seem to have persisted at the level of implicit, informal culture despite much acculturative change at the explicit, formal level -- changes in language, dress, technology, participation in a money economy, and the like.

The traditional Algonkian patterns have been well documented from the 17th Century to the present. At the general level of political organization there was great decentralization

within the various Algonkian societies that occupied the Eastern Woodlands region of North America, extending from the Atlantic Coast inland through the Great Lakes as far west as what is now Manitoba and Minnesota. (see Hallowell, 1955: 120).

At the level of daily life, the virtual absence of central political authority (except on a temporary basis) was reflected in social relations face to face . Work groups and hunting groups were not organized around fixed positions of leadership to be permanently occupied by particular individuals, as were analogous groups among Europeans. This cultural difference was extremely salient for the European missionaries and explorers. They mentioned it again and again in their reports to Europe. Selecting from such accounts, Hallowell (1955: 135) cites the following sources, among others:

> They held it as a maxim that each one is free: that one can do whatever he wishes: and that it is not sensible to put constraint upon men.
> (Le Clercq, French Jesuit missionary, 17th C., writing of the Micmac of the Gaspé Peninsula)

> Every word that looks like a command is immediately rejected with contempt by an Indian, proud of his liberty. The chief must endeavour to rule over his people merely by calm reasoning and friendly exhortation.
> (Loskiel, German United Brethren missionary, 18th C., writing of the Delaware)

> Our Generals and Presidents of the Council have not more Power than any other Huron. . .everyone is his own Master. . .without being accountable to another, or censur'd by his Neighbor.
> (Adaric, Huron chief, quoted by de Lahontan, French explorer, 17th C.)

Hallowell notes that the pattern of a social structure in which no one was in a position to order anyone else around had as its interactional concomitant the avoidance of levels and kinds of social pressure that to non-Indians would seem very trivial. He found this pattern persisting in the 1930's and 40's among both relatively traditional and relatively acculturated Ojibwa in Eastern Manitoba (1955: 378ff). Since the Ojibwa, the Huron, and the Odawa were neighbors in Ontario in the 17th Century (and still are today) and since similar traditional patterns of political decentralization and everyday conduct have been reported for the Odawa (Kinietz 1972: 226, 1st ed. 1940), it seems reasonable to infer that the patterns we find in community life on the reserve today represent the persistence of traditional patterns of interactional etiquette -- in modern dress, as it were.

But it is precisely because of the literal presence in everyday life on the reserve of modern dress, cars, outboard motors, television sets, and fluency in English, that these relatively subtle aspects of interactional etiquette are likely to go unrecognized by non-Indian teachers as they meet Odawa children at school. Ways of avoiding direct commands and not putting people in the spotlight are not seen as a part of culture. Apparently, "culture" is traditional art, beadwork, foods, language, tales, from the point of view of school authorities, curriculum developers, and teachers, non-Indian and Indian (for in teacher education courses, Indian students learn that "culture" is formal, explicit patterning, primarily producing

artifacts and languages. The idea that implicit, informal culture shapes people's ways of acting in everyday life does not seem generally to be taught to teachers, whether Indian or non-Indian.)

This is not to excoriate "The Authorities", for as we noted in our introduction, it is only recently that social scientists have begun to take really seriously (and to study systematically) those subtle differences in people's ways of acting that, while they may seem trivial at first thinking, turn out to have profound effects on people's reactions during face to face interaction -- on feelings and on inferences of intent -- especially in encounters between people of differing ethnic and cultural background.

The non-Indian teacher we studied, who was teaching Indian children in the classroom for the first time (he had taught non-Indian children before), intuitively adopted during the course of the year some of the ways of acting used by the Indian teacher next door. The non-Indian teacher was developing a more culturally congruent teaching style, making use of more culturally congruent participation structures. By increasing greatly the amount of time he worked with individual children and also increasing the time he spent with them in small groups he decreased the amount of contact he had with them in the public arena of large group instruction. In that participation structure he still tended to use the "spotlight" and to issue directives much more frequently and explicitly than did the Indian teacher. It made perfect sense for him to

do so; what he was doing is by classic European and North American pedagogical standards good teaching -- providing content focus and maintaining control.

Yet our "double case analysis" suggests, together with the work of Philips and others, that there are more and less culturally congruent ways of acting in accomplishing intellectual focus and classroom control. As social scientists we have only begun to examine these ways of acting in constructing participation structures in the classroom.

The non-Indian teacher we studied was fortunate on two counts: he had good intuitions, and he had a skilled and perceptive principal who was Indian and who was able to give him some helpful advice. His intuitive "teacher radar" enabled him to make good use of that advice.

We expect that many teachers and their supervisors are less sensitive intuitionally and find themselves in less supportive work situations. We hope the line of inquiry we have begun can provide some insights for them, both as basic research on the cultural organization of social relationships in classroom interaction is continued, and as applications of these perspectives and findings are developed for teacher education at the college level and for continuing education for teachers in local schools.

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